PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Kerala): Sir, I crave your indulgence. ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, there is no notice. ...(*Interruptions*)...

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: Sir, I am a disciplined Member, please allow me. ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are a disciplined Member, but rules ...(*Interruptions*)...

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: Sir, please ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has started his Special Mention. ...(*Interruptions*)... Mr. Kurien, please. ...(*Interruptions*)... It is not allowed. ...(*Interruptions*)...

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: I am requesting the Home Minister ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have taken up the Special Mentions. ...(*Interruptions*)... Kurien ji, please sit down. ...(*Interruptions*)... You have not given the notice in the morning. ...(*Interruptions*)... Now, we take up Private Members' Business (Resolutions).

PRIVATE MEMBER'S RESOLUTION

Menace of Increasing Naxal Attacks and Remedial Measures to Combat Attacks

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri B.S. Gnanadesikan to move the Resolution No. 1.

SHRI B.S. GNANADESIKAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, sir, with your permission, I would like to move the Private Members' Resolution to the following effect:—

"Having regard to the fact that—

recently naxal attacks have increased which indicates that the naxalites are consolidating their presence across the country;

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA) in the Chair.]

state police forces are ill-equipped to counter the naxal attacks and their activities;

nearly seven hundred people including about two hundred and fifty security personnel have been killed in naxal related violence during the last two years;

absence of awareness against the dangerous prevalence of naxalites in rural and jungle villages has caused expansion of naxal network; and

many security personnel have been killed in naxal prone areas by contracting water-borne diseases by drinking contaminated water.

With this background, this House urges upon the Government to look into the problem of naxal attacks and increasing naxal activities in all States and may take war-time steps to eliminate and eradicate naxal operations by taking the following measures:

creation of specialised force to operate along with State police in naxal infected areas;

the CRPF is to be used as counter-terrorism force in areas where they are deployed together with Centralised Special Intelligence Cell for naxal activities;

provide additional allowance to the jawans posted in naxalite areas in addition to nutritious diet allowance;

provide medical facilities to security personnel who are posted in remote naxal infected areas;

accelerate development activities in naxal infected areas;

involve the local leaders to prevent the people from joining the naxal movement;

take necessary steps to rehabilitate the naxal cadre who leave the organisation and join the mainstream;

create a central agency to monitor, prevent and eradicate the naxal activities from the country so that instead of State-specific, decisions can be made and implemented at the Central level."

Sir, there are four components in my Resolution. The first component is the strengthening of police forces in the naxal-affected States. The second component is that the police personnel, who are involved in facing the naxal violence, must be taken care of and all necessary facilities, including, medical facilities, necessary increase of salary, and other allowances, must be given to them. The third component is that the people who are affected by the naxal violence and the cadres, who want to joint the mainstream from the naxal movement, must be taken care of and they must be rehabilitated. Finally, fourth component, which I think, may raise some eyebrows, and some may agree and some may not agree to it, is that in the scenario of regionalism giving way to nationalism and everybody talking about federalism, there are several parties which say that a State-specific policy must be there. In the interest of national unity and integrity, I want to give a suggestion and I want to start a debate in this House today that wherever naxal-affected district — I am not naming the States — could not be properly administered by the State administration, wherever cross of funds which flowed from the Centre could not be utilised properly, wherever the funds allotted to the States under various heads and various schemes failed to reach the beneficiaries, in those cases, I request the Government to amend the constitutional provisions. There are two provisions in the Constitution. One is article 352 which talks about proclamation of emergency. That is not only external aggression but also armed rebellion. The word 'emergency' is not liked by anyone, because once emergency is declared, then suspension of Fundamental Rights and other things follow. But, article 355 says, "Duty of the Union to protect States against external aggression and internal disturbance". The word used in the Constitution is 'internal disturbance' and not 'armed rebellion'. Further, it says, "It will be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution." If possible, an amendment can be brought in article 355 of the Constitution that wherever the district administration could not properly use the funds meant for people, particularly for tribal, poor, SC and ST people due to various reasons — I am not saying because of bad governance — and could not implement the programmes, the Central Government can take action. The Government can, at least, consider debate whether suitable amendment can be brought providing for the direct intervention of the Centre to administer these districts is possible where internal disturbance occurs. That is the fourth component of my Resolution. I want the hon. Members to consider it. In the present political scenario and structure, of course, with the consultation of all other allies and partners and also with the concurrence and consultation of Left parties which are supporting this Government and also in consultation with our respectable Opposition parties, for the national interest, I am placing this suggestion before the House. There are certain backgrounds for urgency in moving this Resolution. Our

hon. Prime Minister has said that this threat will cause internal disturbances and it is very serious one. Unless it is checked at proper moment, it will go beyond our control. So, before it goes beyond our control, it is time to act. I will justify my reasoning, my argument by giving certain figures as to how the Central Government helped to modernise the police forces, how crores of rupees given for naxal-affected States were not utilised properly. That is the reason for proper rehabilitation and other things not being done. Sir, that is why, from only a small area of naxalite-operations, now, it has spread to Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Maharashtra, Andhra and also parts of Kerala and Karnataka. *(Interruptions)* Sir, in Tamil Nadu, there is no naxalite activity. Though my friend, Mr. Malaisamy referred naxalite activities in Tamil Nadu but because of the proper management, because of the efficient police force and because of the efficient bureaucracy, to which Mr. Malaisamy once belonged, I think, that has been controlled in the State.

We had a small problem in the Dharmapuri District but that was solved because of efficiency of administration. Recently also, we identified some people in Theni District but because of the prompt action taken by the state Government and the police force, their attempts have been foiled. That is important. Sir, I am saying all this because some States act quickly, and, the administrative machinery there — if I may take the words of Mr. Malaisamy — is well oiled, and, therefore, administration functions properly. In may States, where the administration does not have the will to act, where there is no political will to curb all these activities, the disturbances not only exist but also expand.

Therefore, Sir, in this background, I thought to move this Resolution. Sir, several steps have been taken, particularly, by our hon. Home Minister who is heading the Consultative Committee on Home Affairs. During his tenure, several Consultative Committee meetings have been held regarding modernisation of police force and curbing the naxalite violence. They are even contemplating a police force on the lines of FBI in the State to look after the federal crime. Our Home Minister is personally interested in doing several things and solving the problem but the remedy lies somewhere else, to which I will come later.

Sir, the Standing Committee of the Chief Ministers of seven naxalite-affected States has been formed under the chairmanship of the Home Secretary. Sir, a taskforce on inter-State coordination was constituted to review the implementation of the various programmes of the Central Government in naxalite-affected areas.

Sir, meetings are held, discussions take place, decisions are arrived at but when the question of implementation comes up, the problem arises because there is some defect in the delivery system. Because of the deficiency in the delivery system, the naxalite-affected States or Districts are not able to come out of their problems. This is the problem in the structure.

Sir, the naxalite-movements are spreading in more and more States. The International Financial Services Company, Citigroup Inc. said that naxalite insurgency would not only hamper India's economic growth but also restrict the inflow of FDI into the country. There is another danger that growing unrest and continued deterioration in security levels in India coal heartland would have a significant impact on energy security in India and beyond.

Sir, a report appreared that the Maoists are setting up regional, Zonal or State committees and special forces to target urban areas and towns. Sir, this is a dangerous development which has taken place of late. Alarming warnings have been issued to industrial belts like Bhilai, Ranchi, Dhanbad, Kolkata; and also Mumbai, Pune, Surat, Ahmedabad seems to have been identified for urban mobilisation.

Sir, as the Government of India plans several corridors for connecting the roads and ports, naxalites are also having several corridors to link the urban belts and industrial belts for mobilising. This has to be taken care of. Several reports appear in papers that naxalites' activities have been curtailed; their supply chain has been cut. Several ideas are floated, several articles are written, suggestions are offered but, ultimately, Sir, it is spreading from State to State.

Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House towards the Status Report of the Home Ministry. Sir, in 2007, up to 30.06.2007, the number of incidents, 842; police personnel killed, 138; civilians killed, 220; and Naxalites killed, 93. Sir, there is a comparative chart which says that in 2003, reported incidents were 1597; police personnel killed, 105; civilians killed, 410; and naxalites killed, 216.

Sir, why am I comparing these figures? The statistics given will give us a statistical satisfaction that the incidents are less; the number of persons killed is less; and the number of police personnel killed is less. But the fact remains, the violence, the movement still persists. That has to be taken care of.

Sir, naxalism is not a law and order problem. That has been repeatedly told by the hon. Home Minister also. It has deep socio-economic dimensions also. Sir, in this respect, the Home Ministry has given figures relating to naxal violence in Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, etc. What are the steps that the Central Government is asking the State Governments to take to face the naxal violence?

Sir, in 2007, till the end of June, there were 842 incidents of naxal violence and in the corresponding period in 2006, it was 827 incidents; the number of police personnel and civilians killed was 358 against 396 in the corresponding period of 2006. Sir, in 2007, till the end of June, the number of police personnel killed was 138 and 220 civilians were killed as against 304 in the corresponding period of 2006.

Sir, what support the Central Government is giving to the naxal-affected States is also found in the Status Report. Thirty-three battallions of the CPMF are currently deployed in anti-naxal duties in various States for assisting the State Police Forces. Twenty-nine Indian Reserve Battallions have been sanctioned for naxal-affected States. Fifteen battallions have been raised so far.

Under the Scheme of Modernisation of State Police Forces, assistance for modern weaponry, latest communication equipment, mobility and other infrastructure is being provided. Naxal-affected States have also been asked to identify vulnerable police stations and outpost for fortification under the Scheme. Whether the naxal-affected States have done this is a question. I will come with an answer to it later.

Sir, to upgrade the capability of the State Police Forces in weaponry, communication and handling of explosives, a special allocation of Rs. 100 crore was made under the Police Modernisation Scheme for seven naxal-affected States in 2006-07 in addition to the normal allocation. This is the extra money given by the Home Ministry.

Security-related expenditure is also being reimbursed to the States. Sir, from February 2005, it has been increased from 50 per cent to 100 per cent. Hundred per cent amount is reimbursed for rehabilitation, insurance scheme for police personnel, community policing and also for the expenditure which is incurred on publicity to counter the naxal propaganda and other security-related items. The Scheme is extended for five more years beyond 31st March 2006.

Sir, 40 per cent of the recruitment in the Central Paramilitary Forces is provided to border areas and the areas affected by militancy and naxalism. This is the Centre's contribution. These are some of the steps which are taken by the Central Government to help the naxal-affected States, to augment their police forces, to modernise their police forces, to develop their equipment system, to develop the intelligence network, etc. Sir, on the developmental front, what has happened? Under the Backward Districts Initiatives, for the Rashtriya Sam Vikas Yojana, which covered 147 districts including 55 districts having Naxal-affected areas, amount of Rs. 45 crore per district had been allocated on a non-lapsable basis. Sir, in addition to the Backward Districts Initiative, the scheme of Backward Regions Grant Fund was initiated in 250 districts including around 107 districts having Naxal-affected areas. Sir, the the total provision for this is Rs. 25,000 crore during the Eleventh Five Year Plan. For the current year, Sir, an amount of Rs. 4,670 crores is there which includes a component of Rs. 1 crore per district for capacity building. Sir, in addition to all these things, special packages are given. Sir, the Government of India has given Rs. 1,000 crores to Bihar and Rs. 250 crores per year to Orissa. Sir, in addition to these special grants, the Government is also giving various schemes for the whole of India, particularly for the Naxal-affected areas. For the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana, there is an allocation of Rs. 6,000 crores in the current year. It is a wide opportunity to take up the rural connectivity on priority.

Sir, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme in one of the flagship programmes of this Government, the UPA Government led by the Congress Party. They introduced it in 200 districts, extended to 330 districts and now, this scheme is going to come into operation in the whole of India to give wage employment to the rural poor. Sir, the above scheme is in addition to the National Rural Health Scheme, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Integrated Child Development Service Scheme, the schemes of the Ministries of Tribal Affairs, Social Welfare, Human Resource Develeopment, etc. All other Government Departments and Ministries are giving separate schemes for States.

Therefore, Sir, the last step is to protect the tribals. Sir, to protect the tribal people from being evicted and harassed, this Government passed the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers Act, 2006. Sir, why I am explaining all this is, in the last four years, this Government has increased the allocation for various social welfare schemes. Sir, this Government is trying to help the States without any discrimination, whether it is Biju Janata Dal in Orissa or BJP in one State or some other party in some other State. In Bihar, Shri Nitish Kumar is the Chief Minister. The Government has given Rs. 1000 crores to Bihar as a special package. So, this Government, without any discrimination, in national interest, in order to help the States, in order to overcome the difficulties faced by the States, in order to eliminate Naxalism and keep the States peaceful and in order to retrieve and rehabilitate the rural poor, introduced these schemes. Sir, if all these schemes are put together and if all the money which is spent by the Central Government on these schemes is put together and if any take a particular district, particularly the Naxal-affected district, I will say that heaven will come into that district. It will be a earthly heaven to live in those districts. Many crores of rupees are given for good roads, drinking water, health scheme, wages, employment guarantee, education, old-age pension, etc. But, the question is: Whether the delivery system for all these schemes is correct or not? There lies the problem. In spite of the fact that the money is being given and in spite of the two-pronged approach of the Home Minister, namely, to strengthen the police force and also the Government's intention to develop the area and to help the people in all respects for overall and accelerated growth, it is to be seen, whether it

happens. Unfortunately, Sir, It is not. Sir, I will cite what is happending at present. That is more important.

Sir, there was an investigation, by the *Indian Express*, regarding Bihar to which a Rs. 1,000-crore package has been given as a special case per year. Sir, the caption of the news-item which appeared in the newspaper on 25th February, 2008 is: "No electricity, no phone, this Bihar police station has only God to thank!" This is the caption of the news-report appearing in the *Indian Express*. The report says, "The Banke Bazar police station which is vulnerable to Naxal attacks is having only petromax light." And the sub-Inspector says, "Arms would not be effective. And the Naxals can shoot us down with LMG from the hilltop." This is a statement of the Sub-Inspector who has been posted in the police station to face the Naxal violence.

Sir, there is another story about another police station. "In Sherghati-Imamganj State highway, the Station remains in darkness because the availability of power is only for two hours per day. The kerosene generator is out of order because there is no mechanic to repair it. The telephone line of this Police Station lies disconnected for four months due to non-payment of telephone bills. For the Officer-in-charge of this Police Station, there is no official cell phone. One jeep for this Police Station!" Sir, I am giving examples about the condition of only two police stations in Bihar to which we are pouring crores of rupees. I am not criticising the State Government. With great respect to the administration there, I am not referring to the aspect as to how the Government is being administered there because it is not necessary at this stage. But I only want to raise a question because the people's tax money is involved, and the Central Government, with a good intention, is helping the States by pouring so much amount to resettle the people living in the Naxal-affected areas. Despite that, if such is the condition of these police stations in Bihar, what would happen to the schemes for modernisation of the police forces? What would happen to the upgradation of structural soundness of the police stations and police forces? What would happen to the 100 per cent reimbursement given by the Government for security-related jobs in these States? That is the question, Sir, which I want to put, with great respect, to the hon. Minister. Sir, the IG, Operations, in Bihar, also makes a statement. "Gone are all those days when the officials were prohibited from giving statements to the media." Even if they refuse, Sir, the visual media, nowadays, goes on showing it. They also give statements on mike! ....*(Interruptions)*... And wrong statements also, sometimes, and put the Government into an embarrassment. "The IG, Operations, has blamed the State? Whom? The Finance Minister, for delaying the sanction of projects. This is the one instance of how the State machinery is functioning.

Sir, in Chhattisgarh, 2,000 posts of policemen are lying vacant. In Orissa, a number of posts are lying vacant; they are not filled up. Sir, if this is the position, what role the Central Government can play, under these circumstances, in safeguarding the States from internal disturbances is a question I am raising before the House. It is for the hon. intelligent Members of this House to deliberate and debate, and, then, arrive at a conclusion. Having a quasi-federal structure of our Constitution, what role the Union Government can play and what steps it can take to see that the money which is given to these States for modernisation of police forces and uplift of the rural poor, tribal people, SCs/STs and minorities is properly utilised? Sir, crores of rupees provided under the various schemes, formulated by the Central Government, do not reach the real beneficiaries. What the Central Government can do in these circumstances is a question that I want to put to the hon. Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): Do you want to continue?

SHRI B.S. GNANADESIKAN: Yes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): Okay. You can continue after lunch. The House is adjourned till 2.00 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at five minutes past two of the clock,

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) *in the Chair.]*

SHRI B.S. GNANADESIKAN: Sir, in the morning session, I was stating how the Central Government helps the Naxal-affected States with huge funds not only for the development of the region but also for augmenting and modernising the police forces, etc. I also pointed out how the delivery system is bad in these States and the beneficiaries have not been able to benefit from these schemes. Sir, to further strengthen my argument on this score, I would like to quote a writer of an article in a magazine; he claimed that he had been touring all the Naxal-affected areas; he has written an article which has been published in a weekly magazine.

According to him, in the tribal majority districts of KBK, that is, Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput, of Orissa, Rs. 2,000 crores, cumulatively spent, ostensibly on social welfare and rural development schemes during the past three years, has just vanished. Nothing is there. He also says, "One of the reasons is that in the vast Central Indian highlands, an occasional visit of an official invariably means extraction by coercion of whatever little the people have; it does not end with just a chicken or a goat or a bottle of *mahua;* if often includes all these and the modesty of the womenfolk. Most tribal villages and settlements have no access to schools and medical facilities. Very few are connected with all-weather roads. They have no electricity supply, though all the coalmines and most of the hydel projects to generate power are in the tribal regions. The forests have been pillaged and the vergin forests, thick with giant *sal* trees are things of the past". Sir, this is the article written by that author who claims to have travelled throughout the Naxal-affected districts. He has written this article which was published in the magazine on 15th February, 2008.

Sir, there is a promise which has been made by Shri Laxmi Mittal to invest one lakh crore of rupees in Orissa and Jharkhand for starting a steel industry. According to the estimate, it will create, at least, a hundred thousand jobs directly and one to three million jobs indirectly. To get the raw material, that is, iron ore, he must have mine. If he wants mine, then the tribal people who are occupying the land will have to be displaced. There will be a resistance. One of the reasons, they say, is the amendment to the Mines and Minerals Act of 1957, providing for the power of acquisition of land for the purpose of mining; so, one of the causes for displacement of people is the use of this power by the State Executive harshly without taking into consideration the human sentiments. The other consideration seems to be the introduction of, or, allowing, the foreign companies to enter into this politically-charged area for mineral development. These are the two reasons which they attribute to the growing unrest in the tribal area because the Land Acquisition Act, which is very harsh, displaces a person. The house is built with the hard-earned money and, subsequently, when compulsory acquisition takes place, for whatever reason, either for private purpose or on the request of a company or for public purpose by the Government, ultimately, the person looses his house. The compensation given by the Government does not substitute the structure or the house which he has built or the land which he possesses. There are also sentiments attached to the house

and to the land he owns. Therefore, one of the suggestions—again quoting the Mittal steel plant--is that by establishing a steel plant in Orissa, Chhattisgarh or Jharkhand, Rs. 70,000 crores of revenue will be created. And half a per cent of that, in perpetuity, if it is given to the sufferers who have lost their land or the building, they will become rich; their children can be educated. Therefore, they will not only be adequately compensated but also sufficiently compensated. More than the compensation, they will have a peaceful life because of the money power which they possess. The idea is, these persons must be made as a partners, the person who loses the land or the house must be made as a partner in the developmental projects so that they will become a partner of the scheme, and they would not have a feeling that their land or their house has been taken away forcibly by the use of this Act, the Land Acquisition Act or whatever Act. Therefore, Sir, these are the two aspects which I would like to put forth for the overall consideration of the government.

Sir, coming back to the question of paucity of political will at the State level to deal with this problem, and how the Home Ministry is going all out to help the States will be revealed by the Status Paper issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs as on January 1, 2008. Sir, I would like to quote, not all figures, some of the figures to show how in spite of these allotments the States are not able to utilise the generous help given by the Centre, particularly the Home Ministry. The funds are released for the Scheme for Modernisation of State Police Forces. The utilisation certificate for 2005-06 alone the Home Ministry has received. The utilisation certificate for 2006-07 has not been provided by the States. The Home Ministry is having a sub-Plan for Intelligence Network. Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal have not included any specific component for strengthening of intelligence set up.

This is the status of the States' request.

Sir, the other aspect is, under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme, which was operationalised for 20 districts initially, in September, 2005, Rs. 10,025.95 crores released in 2005-06 and 2006-07 but the total utilisation by Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal was only Rs. 6,018.38 crores. Therefore, even the amount which was given under the scheme, they were not able to utilise. In 2007-08, Rs. 7,060.67 crores have been released under the NREGP.

Sir, coming to the police force—I was explaining how the two police stations in Bihar were situated in spite of several crores of rupees pumped in for modernisation, 100 per cent reimbursement, etc.—I would further like to say this. In Andhra Pradesh, the vacancy position was 7.27 per cent. That is tolerable, Sir. In Bihar, the vacancy position is 28.91 per cent. There are 16,223 officers, 68,115 men; totalling 84,338, but only 24,384 are available. The percentage is 28.91 per cent; this is the shortage. This is the vacancy position. In Chhattisgarh, there are 4,218 officers, 31,257 men; totalling 35,475. The shortage is 7,641, which is 21.54 per cent. Similarly, in Jharkhand, which is the most affected State,—both Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand—there are 31,225 vacancies. It is 24.26 per cent. As far as Madhya Pradesh is concerned, it is 5.42 per cent, which is tolerable. Maharashtra figure is also tolerable with 7.13 per cent. Again, Orissa, another most naxal-affected State, is at 21.24 per cent—namely, 10,417 vacancies exist in the police force. Similarly, West Bengal with 9.3 per cent is tolerable. This hon. House may take into account the vacancy position. I am repeating, in spite of all the sincere efforts taken by the Union as well as the Home Minister, they are not able to fill

up the existing vacancies in the police force, forget about the creation of additional posts in the police force. They are not able to fill up even the existing vacancies.

Sir, one interesting factor which comes under the Status Report is the number of kilometres one police station covers. That is more important. In Andhra Pradesh, the total area covered by one police station is 168.22 square kilometres. I am not reading the figures of all States. In Chhattisgarh, one police station has to cover 440.36 square kilometres. Then, how do you expect the police stations to be more effective in containing the naxal movement? It is humanly impossible. Similarly, in Madhya Pradesh, one police station has to cover 333.6 square kilometres. In Orissa, one police station has to cover 335.58 square kilometres. Therefore, unless the shortcomings of filling up of existing vacancies in police force is taken care, reducing the quantum of square kilometres which a police station can cover is a distant reality.

Then, creation of additional police force in which the Central Government assists, making utilisation of all schemes which the Central Government offers like hundred per cent reimbursement of security-related items, utilisation of all the social sector welfare schemes launched by this Government reaching the beneficiary, creation of all weather roads, water supply, jobs, old-age pension, good health, if these common ends are properly done by the State Government, then only, I think, this problem can be overcome.

Sir, I will take only a few minutes. The structure of the naxal movement is improving. According to one newspaper report, they are having a central military commission also. They are also having military intelligence and central instructors' team. Interestingly, Sir, when we are presenting the Budget in the Parliament, they are also presenting a budget of Rs. 60 crores for 2000-2008. Sir, this is a very serious issue.

They have a separate team for arms and ammunitions. Naxal incidents are not remote and isolated incidents. Now-a-days, the naxalites are not drawn by dogmas or issues of any anti-wealth or anti-landlord psyche. They are only exploiting the tribals and the poor people for whom the benefits have not reached because of non-governance in certain areas by the State Governments. That is the reason why these naxals are able to exploit and recruit people for naxal movement. Therefore, the basic difference on how the naxal movement started earlier, how people were attracted because of ideology and dogmas, how they have a policy, is no more there. Now, it is like a structured organisation spreading through a well-oiled-machinery like a government machinery. Though our Government is taking all-out efforts, it is the responsibility of the State Governments to take care of all these things.

Sir, even they have collected 'protection money'. I was told that the intelligence agencies have listed some 120 mining companies and crusher units who have paid more than Rs. 12 crores for protecting their industry. They have developed a central technical unit in Jharkhand, including a mobile van, to repair their weapons and to develop explosives. Sir, these are the things, which are required to be attended to not by the Government or the Home Ministry but by the State Governments concerned. Sir, the spread of Naxalism is an indication of desperation and alienation among a large section of the nation. They have not only been systematically marginalised but also cruelly exploited and dispossessed of their last homelands. Therefore, Sir, all these things should be taken care of by the State Governments and if the money in crores that flows through these schemes reaches the beneficiaries, there will be magical transformation in the Naxal areas. People will lead a peaceful, happy life; children will go for education, old age people will get pension, rural people will get employment and healthcare. There should be a corruption-free implementation of the scheme

at the State level. There should not be diversification of money to other areas. There should be a total dedication for the cause we are fighting for. Sir, most of the areas are rich in mineral and crushing units and these areas should be taken care of by involving the local people with the dedicated bureaucracy, disciplined Armed Forces and by political will. Sir, before I conclude, I revert back to my request for Constitutional amendment, which I made for article 355 because the Union Government can take over the administration of the districts so that there is proper coordination in respect of administration not only of schemes but also of police forces. Sir, in this regard the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Personnel, Public Grievances, Law and Justice has submitted a report regarding CBI, which is interesting to read. It can be applied to our case also and it can also strengthen my argument for the said amendment. Sir, it says and I read with your permission, "The Committee is of the opinion that regardless of its location, in any State in India, every Indian citizen whether he is a native of that State or not by virtue of his citizenship, has a right to protection by the Government of India of his life, liberty and property, the Government of India has a corresponding obligation. Therefore, the Committee feels, the CBI with appropriate stature and backing *suo motu* cognises the crimes, which in no way affect the essentials of our federal structure." There is a long recommendation, which they have made. What they have suggested is that the CBI can take *suo motu* action against the crimes in the States. That is the only way to see, in spite of federal structure of our country, that the CBI functions properly to detect the crimes. Sir, finally, I have to appreciate and congratulate our Home Minister for involving himself in all these security related matters. Sir, he is taking a very keen interest. He is convening the meetings of the Home Ministry and other officials, he is regularly interacting with the Chief Ministers of the Naxal affected States and he is also trying, as best as possible, to help the States whichever party is power in those States. But, ultimately, Sir, it is for the States to take advantage of the lending help. That is the reason why I made this Resolution to request for the responsibility and accountability by the Government of India by making necessary amendments so that delivery is overhauled. As a responsive Central Government, it can see the funds allotted for the schemes reach the destination. Sir, any pillage, corruption official or political must be dealt with an iron hand. The good governance in the worst of law and order environment is the need of the hour. The best civilian administrative structure must come up in place of total non-governance. Therefore, Sir, part (e), (f) and (g) of my Resolution is to be taken note of by the Government. Sir, in this august House I made a Special Mention, I have already raised the pathetic conditions of our Jawans who are guarding our frontiers and police forces guarding our internal security should be taken care of. They are working in onerous conditions. The boys are to be educated and girls to be married, old parents are to be looked after. Therefore, they also deserve our sympathy and attention. Sir, these men deserve better treatment and the Government is giving insurance schemes, higher pay, TA and other things. Yet, Sir, these men deserve better treatment and therefore, my Resolution (e) and (f) has come. No doubt, Sir, there are some villains in uniform, who by their belief act inhumanly with a wooden heart. They must be identified and shifted. These measures are the need of the hour. Sir, during my student days, 40 years back, there was some agitation in Coimbatore when I was in college. When we were agitating, on the other side of the area was the Police Force, ready with *lathis*. The students started throwing stones. In those days, the Collectors used to be on the spot along with the police whenever there was agitation. So, when the students started emotionally pelting stones, the Collector who was standing with the police rushed to the students' side and he also picked up one stone and pretended as though he was also with the students throwing the stones on the

police. Immediately, the students relaxed, they laughed, they sat with the Collector and then they dispersed. Sir, we have to re-invent the officers of such a nature and post them in these areas to effectively deal with them. Sir, with this, I move this Resolution. I congratulate once again the Union Home Minister for the effective steps he has taken, and I am today in this House on this day, at this hour, the last day of the first part of the Budget session, I am raising this issue of amendment of the Constitution. In spite of the quasi-federal nature of our country, in the national interest, article 365 has to be amended and the Central Government should take direct responsibility of administering the districts where internal disturbance takes place so that they can effectively administer these districts and also see the funds allotted reaches the beneficiaries. I think you are impatient. I am going to finish. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): No, no, I was not at all impatient. I was appreciating your speech.

SHRI B.S. GNANADESIKAN: Sir, I was just joking. Thank you.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA (Rajasthan): Sir, I assure you that you are a very patient Chairman and you give full time to the speakers and it is very generous of you to have called me to speak on this Resolution. Our hon. Member has moved a very, very important Resolution. It is most timely, most relevant and most urgent at this juncture. He has covered all the facets most ably, and to me, it appeared that whatever he had spoken, if he put together, it would be a dissertation for a doctorate degree. He has very beautifully covered all aspects. I genuinely appreciate; I genuinely applaud him for such a beautiful presentation. The only regret is, he has left very little for me. I will start by saying that Naxalism is the most horrendous phase of terrorism today in this country. Naxalism is such a kind of a terror, it is such a merchant of death that it has spread over its tentacles through 13 or 14 States of this country, affecting 160 or 165 or 170 or even 185 districts. The hon. Home Minister might quote statistics and say it is only 2 to 3 per cent of the villages. Out of 6,50,000 villages only 14 villages are affected. But, let him go to Chhattisgarh, let him go to Jharkhand, let him go to Orissa, let him go to any of these States and ask the common man how does he feel, how safe he is, what is his fear complex about Naxalism and he will find that statistics might say anything.

Your honour, I am reminded that the way to hell is paved with good intentions. Fortunately, we could not have a more conscientious, a more devoted and a more sensitive Home Minister than the present one. I appreciate him. But, situation is so alarming and so dangerous that it will be very much an understatement to say that it really does not and things are improving. Statistics, they say, are like 'bikini-bathings suits.' What they reveal is suggestive. And, what they hide is vital. Vital things are being hidden. Basically, we have to think whether this Naxalism problem is law and order problem or decoity problem or robbery problem or riot problem or is it a national disaster? It is a rebellion. It is a revolt against the State, which affects integrity, security and sovereignty of the nation. If we handle it as a law and order problem, then we say, 'Police' is a State Subject. It comes under the State List. Hence, the State has to handle it. But, when we think it as a kind of threat to the nation, threat to this sacred country, then something has to be done at the Union level. I am not in favour of a suggestion given that there should be a Constitutional amendment to Article 355. I think, it will go against the federal or quasi-federal character of the country and most of the States would not agree with it. But, there can be a joint-command, as has been tried successfully very recently. It has been tried on 18th March, 2008—only

two days back. Three States launched anti-Maoist operations. As many as 17 Maoitss were killed in two separate encounters with Police in Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh, which is close to Andhra Pradesh border on Tuesday. Most of those slain are from Andhra Pradesh. Out of them, there are 7 women. In this cadre, the sinister thing is that women are being enrolled. It is a very well organised thing. Sir, 700 police personnel, including 300 Greyhound Commandos from Andhra Pradesh, took part in a 4-hour encounter with 80-90 Maoists and they succeeded in killing some of them. So, this kind of a joint-operation has to be there for which the Centre and States have to join their shoulders. But, if we pass this buck only on to State, then, I think, Sir, there will be any end to it. How sinister is it? I will seek your permission to quote what is the tally of fatality by Naxalism during 2007. I am quoting the exact figures given by the Home Ministery. Sir, the number of incidents is 1565, security personnel killed are 236, civilians killed are 460 and Naxalites killed are 141 only. During these two months—January, February, 2008—40 security personnel were killed. It may be said that 2006 was worse and 2007 is better. But it, with five deaths less or five deaths more, do you think that it change the scenario of law and order and change the scenario of peace? Even five deaths are enough. They are a blot on the nation. The most horrendous incident which very recently took place was on 16th February, nearly a month back. In an audacious attack, nearly 500 heavily-armed naxals came in vehicles by road, besieged Nayagarh and Daspalla towns in Orissa, killed 13 policemen and one civilian and looted all the arms and ammunitions stored in two police armouries. They were more than thousand. They retreated into the forests after driving in a hijacked bus for only 40 kilometres. The place where they laid a very systematic attack was very near to Bhubaneshwar, only 19 kilometres away. They perpetrated the attack, succeeded and left with the loot. Blood was splattered in the police station and armoury area, but nobody checked them. If we do not take such kind of naxalite threats seriously, what more threat is required? They have sophisticated arms, they have got the latest weapons, they have got organised units. They have got 10,000 guerrilla-tactics trained, and fully dedicated soldiers. They have 45,000 known persons who are at their back and call. They have looted 20,000 weapons. Mortars are with them. Latest telecommunication system is with them and they have become a new face of terror and they have become tech-savy also. It is a very threatening situation. It is not easy to handle and there is no easy solution also. I do not pretend or I do not claim to lay any blame on anyone, but neither the States nor the Union Home Ministry can escape from the responsibility of ensuring law and order, safety of life and property of the poorest of the poor citizens, and, in that, we have failed. Who has failed, where he has failed. I cannot say. I have got a cutting with me, which I with your permission, would like to quote because it is relevant. This is from the editorial comments of 'The Hindustan Times', after the carnage which took place on 16th February in Orissa. This is dated 19th February. After this carnage which took place in Orissa, it is the statement by the Union Home Minister, Shri Shivraj V. Patil, after the Nayagarh episode and I quote: "It is very difficult to provide security to every individual and house. It is necessary that individuals take some steps to protect themselves." Do you think this is a statement which will satisfy ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): Sir, this Statement is ascribed to me. It is very unfair to quote the statements made by the Minister in this manner. What the Editor is writing, I do not know. Wherefrom he got that information, I do not know. What was said before this or after this sentence, one does not know and you are quoting the sentence here, and I am sitting here. ...*(Interruptions)*...I object to ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, is it the exact statement made by you or not?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I dit not say this thing. What I said I would like to explain to you. This country is very big. The Police are providing help and support, but if the private industry is there and if the Private Security Agency Act is there under which the private security agencies also can provide security, they should make use of that also. This is out of context because there is a Freedom of Press. They can write anything and we do not contradict their statements here. We are not allowed to quote the statements by the media unless you authenticate that I said this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Do you authenticate it? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: You have to authenticate whether I said this. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, this is the verbatim statement given here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: No; no. I am saying it standing on the floor of the House. This kind of misrepresentation of the case does not help anybody, does not increase the credibility of any media, does not help anybody at all. You authenticate and say that I have done it and then I will prove that I have not said it.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: I don't have the statement with me. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज (मध्य प्रदेश): जो था, वह बोला, how can you authenticate it?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Dr. Pilania, since you have quoted from it, if you want it to go on record. you should authenticate it and say from where you are quoting it. Otherwise, it will not go on record.

DR GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, it is here. It is in this cutting. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: He said whatever was reported in Press; he cannot authenticate it. He can only produce the paper. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: This is here with me. I will put it on the Table.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: आप आगे बढ़िए। ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: As per the rules of the procedure also, the statements made in the newspapers are not quoted here. I can refer to the rule, I can refer to the commentary. ...*(Interruptions)*... And, if you are doing it, authenticate and do it.....*(Interruptions)*...

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: सर,जरूरत ही नहीं है। पिलानिया जी, आप आगे बढ़िए, छोड़िए इसे।

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Ok, Sir, the point is, I was speaking ...*(Interruptions)*... I had the right to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*... The hon. Minsiter should have intervened later on. He should have explained it later on. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That's ok.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: आप बोलिए।

DR GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: No; but was it correct for him to * me by his standing like this? ...*(Interruptions)*...

* Not recorded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF P.J. KURIEN): The point is, since you have quoted it, you should say from where it is and authenticate it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Otherwise, the quotation will not go on record. But you can speak what you want.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: आप बोलिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You speak. If it is not authenticated, it will not go on record. But you can speak. You can speak whatever you want to speak.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, I am speaking. I am giving expression to my anguish regarding the state of affairs. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): One minute, please Sir, he is quoting from the *Hindustan Times* and I believe that it is from the editorial page. the Home Minister is a ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; no.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, one minute only. I am surprised the way he intervened and stopped it. On 19th February, ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHIARMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You can't make a speech ...*(Interruptions)*... No; no. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, I have a small submission, ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You cannot do it other than through a point of order. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, You give your ruling after listening to me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Then you should raise a point of order.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, the point is very simple. A person is raising a newspaper; it is a well-known newspaper. The Home Minister is well aware of the fact and every Minister gets press-clippings every day.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That's ok.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: If anything wrong appeared in newspaper like *Hindustan Times,* it should have been refuted by the Government itself. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not contradicted. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not contradicted. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; no; that is not correct. Mr. Ahluwalia, that's not the point here. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is not the point here. No; the Home Minister will say whatever he wants to say. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: He is also a responsible Member and former Direct-General of Police; and he knows what is right and what is wrong and what to quote and what not to quote. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Ahluwalia, you know the rules. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: But they way the Minister is * him, ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; please. No. See, nobody is *. That word will not go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nobody is *

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* Not recorded.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, that is not correct. That means ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Ahluwalia, please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... Otherwise, it would not go on record.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, his speech is being curtailed here in the House. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Other than through point of order, you cannot ...*(Interruptions)*... Why do you take his time? It is Mr. Pilania's time. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, everyday, press-clippings are quoted like ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You have made your point. Now, you take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, everyday Press reports are being quoted. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You have made your your point. Now, you take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: How can you say like that nobody can quote the Press cuttings? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Why don't you take your seat? ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Ahluwalia, please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, in this House, on the basis of the reports or articles written in the newspapers, we have had. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Ahluwalia, If you continue like this, I will have to say that nothing will go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... See, Mr. Ahluwalia. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, the Member's rhythm of speech of should not be snatched by the Minister. That is my point. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I have made a statement. I am not expected to explain to the House that I have not made the statement. You will very well say that I have not contradicted it in the House also. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: No, I feel that ...*(Interruptions)*... You must be aware of that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Ahluwalia ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am not expected to reply to anything outside, but on the floor of the House, When I am present, I have to say whether I have made that statement or not. What is this?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): The hon. Home Minister is within his rights to repudiate statements that is alleged to be made by him. When he is present here he can do that and the issue that he has raised is strictly in order. But what the Home Minister has pointed out is that if an hon. Member quotes something, from wherever it may be, he

should authenticate it. So, my ruling is, only if that is authenticated, it will be part of the record. Otherwise, quotations will not form part of the record. But he can speak about it.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, I would not like to speak ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): No, please.

SHR S. S. AHLUWALIA: Just a minute, please. Sir, he would authenticate the newspaper and he would provide a copy of the newspaper.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): All right. Let him do that.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: He would provide a copy of the newspaper. Let it be refuted by the Home Minister.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: It is not a question of authentication.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: He would authenticate the newspaper.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I would say that I don't wish to enter into this *'tu-tu, mein-mein'* on the floor of the House. If he authenticates that I have made that statement, let him do it. I am not disputing that it had appeared in the newspaper. I am only disputing the fact that I made this statement. If he says that I have made this statement, let him say that

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: He is quoting a newspaper.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I would file a privilege case and let him prove that I made the statement.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, this is the not the first time; there have been plenty of occasions when the Chair has asked Members to authenticate newspapers from which they quote and they have authenticated the same. Shri Jaipal Reddy is sitting here. He has authenticated plenty of newspapers and laid them on the Table of the House. I can also do that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): No, Mr. Ahluwalia, I have given my ruling.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I don't want to take any ruling from any Member. Only you must give the ruling and I shall abide by that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): I have given the ruling and that is final. Please continue.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, I would not like to continue. I would stop speaking under protest. The point is, he has been. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): No, no. Please.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: I have not been levelling any accusations against him. I have been quoting something which has been reported in the Editorial of a very well-known, important, leading newspaper of the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): That is okay. But rules say that it should be authenticated. That is all that he has said and nothing more. Please don't get agitated. There is nothing more.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, I am not agitated. It is the hon. Home Minister who is agitated, not me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): He has only reminded the rule to the Chair. That is all. There is nothing more. Please continue.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, I won't continue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Pilaniaji, you are such a senior and seasoned Member. Please continue.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: That is why I am feeling wounded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): It is only a question of rule. Please continue.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, I feel the pinch for those who are being killed daily, policemen as well as civilians. The point is, Sir, the hon. Member who has moved the resolution has quoted from newspapers in his speech today and it has been accepted by the Chair. It has been done today.

SHRI B. S. GNANADESIKAN: Sir, I would like to explain it. There are two things here. A statement or article appearing in the Press is one thing and, as politicians, we all know that a Press Release from the Ministries or Party headquarters is different. That is authenticated. But if a statement is attributed to an hon. Minister or somebody else in a newspaper and if the concerned person says that the statement is not correct...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): I believe, you are quoting the proceedings of the Standing Committee.

SHRI B. S. GNANADESIKAN: No, Sir, even Press reports...(*Interruptions*)

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: No, he has quoted from the Press also. You may go through today's proceedings.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Please.

SHRI B. S. GNANADESIKAN: Sir, articles appearing in the Press or articles appearing about certain incidents can be read. But if it is attributed to a person or a Minister, who is sitting here, and who says that you made this statement and it appeared in the paper, that is a different thing. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not a Press Release.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Pilaniaji , your quotation has been challenged here itself. So, you will have to authenticate it. That is all.

SHRI B. S. GNANADESIKAN: They are two different things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Pilaniaji, your quotation has been challenged here itself by the same person ...*(Interruptions)*... You have to authenticate. Now, please proceed. That matter is over.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, I shall now quote the hon. Prime Minister. I will then again be asked to authenticate it. I don't have his speech, nor do I have the hon. Home Minister's speech. These speeches do not come to us in that way. I quote exactly what he has said. Quotations available with me are usually from the newspaper. And I don't think they

print false statements intentionally. The hon. Prime Minister has said, "The single, biggest internal security challenge confronting the country is Naxalism". These are the words of hon. Prime Minister's statement. Now, you will again ask me to authenticate it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): If it is challenged.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: It is very obvious. How can a person challenge this truth? This is what I am trying to put forward that it is such a serious matter and it is not being taken that way. The hon. Home Minister was telling yesterday or two days back, I recollect that way, that we are all overstating the threat. Threat is so serious that it can never be overstated. Do you think it can be overstated that on 4th March, 2007, Sunil Mehta, former MP, JMM, was brutally killed by naxalites? Could it be overstated that on 26th October, 2007, the son of Babulal Marandi, former Chief Minister of Jharkhand, was killed? Could it be overstated that Chandrababu Naidu, when he was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh was saved by the skin of teeth from explosion by naxalites? Nobody is safe in the country in the face of naxalite threat — common man or the highest man. Naxalite threat is so sinister that they can stop any railway train any time they want; they can attack any police station any time they want; they can attack any armoury any time they want and they can do jail breaking any time they want. It has happened so may times. I have all these statistics with me. It will be waste of time of this august House if I quote them all. My only sincere desire is that such a sagacious, calm and composed Home Minister should accept that this threat is most serious. It is more serious than J&K affairs; it is more serious than north-east insurgency and it is more serious than other things. There will be again trouble because now I am quoting a very detailed report dated 31st appeared in Times of India.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Pilaniaji, your time is almost over. Try to conclude.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: I am just concluding. It says, "India lost over 53,000 lives to terrorism over the last decade. In comparison, it lost 8023 lives in all its wars since Independence." Just imagine, 53,000 lives in terrorism and in war, which as a brave nation we have fought since Independence so far, only 8023 lives were lost since Independence including the Kargil war. In other words, terror attacks in India bled the country much more than conventional wars and we still say that things are all rights. About 4000 people have died in terrorism-related violence in India since January 2004. A review of the date indicates that about 40 per cent of such fatalities occurred in J&K alone as a result of Pakistan-led proxy war in that State and another 27 per cent resulted from Left-Wing Extremism, which we call Naxalism. It is a very serious matter.

Sir, I conclude with the hope and pray that the real nature of threat will be appreciated. I again repeat, it is not a law and order problem; it is not a robbery problem and it is not a dacoity problem, but it is a problem which faces integrity, sovereignty and security of the nation. If some action is not taken — action not only in the form of development and good governance, but also action in the form of taking very strict action, that is, bullet for bullet,eye for eye, teeth for teeth — things won't improve. We might get in every six months such kind of statistics and such kind of reports that things are all rights. But how long will we keep our eyes shut like ostriches? सरकार पानी तो है, नाक तक आ गया है और ऊपर गया तो डूब जाएंगे, सारा नेशन डूबेगा। मेरा कंसर्न इस बुद्धे आदमी का है, और कोई कंसर्न नहीं है।

I do not apportion blames. I adorn our Home Minister. I praise him, but I want that this threat should be recognised.

3.00 P.M.

SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK (Goa) : Sir, I stand here to support the Resolution moved by my friend and colleague, Shri B. S. Gnanadesikan. At the outset, I would like to touch upon an important suggestion made by my colleague with respect to an amendment in the Constitution for tackling the problems in districts which are affected by naxalites. I would suggest by adding to his suggestion that such districts, for a temporary period of say five years or so, can be declared as deemed Union Territories whereby the Administration of the district can be taken over by the Central Government, funds can be provided, all help can be given and appropriate law and order machinery can be installed there so that peace and calm is restored over a period of time. Apart from that, social and development aspect can also be looked after.

Sir, it is said that Naxalite movements originate basically because of poverty. But, the poor necessarily are not violent. One cannot say that poverty *per se* leads to concept like naxalism. There are some administrative matters which, coupled with poverty, lead to such type of movements. This is my humble opinion. For instance, if a Government authority gives certain benefits to the poor people and when a poor person approaches the authority to seek that relief, and if he is not treated properly there, it is that anger which leads to these types of movements, but not poverty *per se*. If a person goes to obtain a loan and if he is not treated properly, if he is made to visit the concerned office again and again, it is that anger which causes naxalism. If a person goes to obtain a ration card, for which he has to report ten times to the office of Tehsildar and he is not issued one, it is this type of negligence on the part of authorities towards the poor which leads to such things. It is not merely the empty stomach of our poor people; they can tolerate hunger, but they cannot, obviously, tolerate insult of this type meted out to them. Again, in the matter of health, when they go to the primary health centres, when their dear ones suffer due to negligence of doctors and health workers, then, these things lead to anger in poor people. Therefore, we have also to see that legal machinery, the administrative machinery, is improvised. We have to make our laws simple because, ultimately, we are governed by our laws. Even if some reliefs are given, everything is governed by a legal system. We have to simplify the laws and I would suggest that a Committee should be appointed to study all the Central legislations and State legislations which deal with common man's day-to-day affairs. It should study and recommend simplified procedures in those legislations so that justice is done to those who seek relief on such issues. Similar is the case of Government schemes. Thousands of schemes of State Government and Central Government are there. In fact, these schemes regulate the regular life of weaker sections of our society. These schemes, and not the legislations, govern their lives. We should make these schemes simplified so that anybody seeking relief under these schemes is not harassed by any Government officer.

As far as naxalite movement is concerned, although it originated in West Bengal but, today, Andhra Pradesh is considered to be the fortress of this movement. If I am not mistaken, 19 out of 23 districts in Andhra Pradesh are now affected by it. There is an analysis made in which it is said that merger of PWG and MCC in 2004 to form the Communist Party of India (Maoists) is seen as a significant development in the armed rebellion within the country. merger marks a new phase in the naxal movement. Right now, 19 out of 23 districts of Andhra Pradesh are under declared naxal-infested Districts. In these areas, the organisational structure of the CPI (Maoist) includes six military platoons, 28 area committees, 66 local guerrilla squads and 16 action teams. There are three Special Zonal Committees in

Andhra Pradesh. On the top the these administrative committees, there is a governing body called the CPI (Maoist) State Committee. This is the administrative set up of this movement. So, these are the things we are tackling with, it is not a simple thing.

In fact, earlier, when Chandra Babu Naiduji was ruling — please excuse me, I do not want to hurt anybody — but it is said that his modern approach, which was quite good actually, towards technology somehow alientated these types of elements. They thought that the Government was meant for them; the Government was going in a different direction. Therefore, this modern approach isolated and alienated some of the people as result of which the movement further picked up.

Now, the present Government has established a Land Commission. I think, their recommendations have also come and the Government has also established a separate department, called, Remote and Interior Area Development for the purpose. Sir, I think, this department and the recommendations will go a long way in solving the problems in the State of Andhra Pradesh. By and large, Sir, we require undoubtedly the police reforms. I do not know where is the tussle, or, what is the status of the tussle that is there between courts and the Governments on these police reforms. I would like to state that this is basically the job of the executive of the Government, and, the Government has to plead forcefully before the court of law that we would be doing all that is needed for the purpose of having reforms in the police system. For that purpose, judiciary may guide the Government but need not lay stress the way it is being laid, as if the Government is not concerned about police reforms. The Ministry of Home Affairs and the Government are very much concerned and they are capable to do all this. This is the message that has to go to the people also and it has to go to the judiciary also. Further, Sir, some of the States are having the Police Act while in some States, it is not there. I would suggest — perhaps, the Government must have done also — that a model draft of Police Act be prepared and circulated amongst all the States for adoption. No doubt, it is for them to adopt. But a modern draft of Police Act should be circulated to all the State Governments so that respective State Assemblies may adopt such legislation. This Act must contain certain modern provisions.

Further, Sir, women police stations have to be established in all the States. Progress has been made in this connection but it is not satisfactory, and, there fore, the Central Government has to play a role to convince the State Government in this regard.

Sir, after the investigation stage, when a matter comes before the court of law, evidence ultimately carries the weight. In this respect, I would like to say that new technologies like lie detector test, brain mapping, and voice recording have to be given judicial recognition. If the modern technology is not recognised by the court of law, then, perhaps, prosecution will fail and we will not be able to achieve the ultimate goal.

Today, in many States, Directorate of Prosecution is in a shambles. We do not have good prosecutors. They also do not have good facilities. They do not have library facilities. They do not have proper accommodation facilities State Governments have to be impressed upon that the prosecution machinery has to be updated. All the modern technology should be provided to them. And sufficient numbers of prosecutors have to be appointed throughout the country.

Sir, Witness Protection Scheme has to be implemented by the Government at the earliest and that too by making necessary amendment in the Criminal Procedure Code. Punishment for giving false evidence has to be enhanced. In cases of rape, when *in camera* proceedings

are held, some close relatives of the victims should be allowed to sit. Sometimes people feel that in camera means that the victims will get better protection and freedom to express views.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please.

SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK: Certain close relatives of the victims have to be allowed to sit in the court room. Sir, I will take two-three minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Two minutes.

SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK: Three minutes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Your first preference is two minutes. So, I will allow you two minutes.

THE SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK: Naxalism is a form of terrorism. Terrorism is prevalent everywhere. In what form it is coming, nobody knows. In February, in Karnataka, two terrorists were arrested. They had a plan to attack Goa in a very serious manner. Sir, this type of terrorism has to be tackled, so that a place like Goa is kept away from such activities. The form of terrorism may not be traditional. Sometimes people come in the guise of somebody else to spoil the peace and harmony of a beautiful State, a State everybody likes to be in.

In this connection, Sir, I would like to mention one thing. We require tourism in Goa. But sometimes what happens is that the people who come to Goa as tourists, they buy vast tracts of land; they deal in drugs; and they deal in sex trade and, ultimately, spoil the name of a beautiful State. In such circumstances we have to take concrete steps to prevent such type of activities. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI R. SHUNMUGASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I congratulate my good friend Mr. Gnanadesikan for moving this Resolution. Sir, this Resolution is triggered by a recent incident in Orissa where a group of naxalites enterend into a police station and killed some of the police personnel, including women. Sir, that really shocked the nation. Mr. Gnanadesikan has given a list of suggestions to curtail the Naxalite operations. Some of them are really good and these suggestions can be accepted. But, these are all not an end. Sir, the Naxalite problem is a menance which this country is facing for the last 40-50 years. The name Naxal itself, I understand, came from a village where there were original disturbances in or around Bengal. Now, it has spread to many parts of the country. In Tamil Nadu also, in recent past, we had this problem, particularly in Dharmapuri district, you had certain problems of the Naxalite movements. In Andhra Pradesh, there are many such problems and the Press report says that there is a group, called the People's War Group which is indulging in all these Naxalite activities.

Sir, the measure to deal with this movement is not by an iron hand.Sir, there is a saying in Tamil which means;

when you want to see as to what is the disease, go to the root of the disease and then, you can cure it. Therefore, the authorities must go into the root of the matter. Sir, the root of the matter is the large-scale unemployment. Sir, we had these problems in certain areas in Thanjavur district also where whenever agriculture fails, such activities crop up. Youngsters or educated unemployed are attracted and compelled to join such forces. It's not of their choice, but they are compelled to join because they see no other way of getting out of their distress.

Sir, the UPA Government has taken very good measures in bringing the NREG Programme and the National Rural Health Programme. Sir, of course, the NREG Programme, to a certain extent, has ameliorated the problem of the poor. Now, we see in villages that the agricultural labourers get, for certain days, to the extent of Rs.80. Now, it is also proposed that all the districts in the country will be covered under this scheme. As it is, it is working very well and, to a certain extent, they are guaranteed of some money in the rural areas. Particularly in the State of Tamil Nadu, the Government of Tamil Nadu has taken adequate measures to supply rice, which is the basic thing for any family.

The State Government has taken steps to give rice to the people @ Rs.2/- per kilo. And also, the Government has taken steps to give land to the landless. Landless farmers are being given the land and, therefore, there is now some scope for improvement. Now they get land; they get rice @ Rs. 2/- per kilo. And they are also paid, under the NREG Scheme, a certain amount. So, Sir, their basic needs are taken care of, and when their basic needs are taken care of, there is a very, very less scope for indulging in such activities. So, slowly, the problems are getting eradicated.

Sir, in the State of Tamil Nadu, we have made the basic education free, and the students who are coming from distant villages are given bicycles. So, the transportation is also free. They use the bicycles. The Central Government is also funding that project. I myself had gone to several schools to distribute bicycles to the girls and boys studying in those schools.

SHRI C. PERUMAL (Tamil Nadu): It is launched by the State Government.

SHRI SHUNMUGASUNDARAM: The State Government has launched this scheme, but it is a Central Government-funded scheme. Sir, these are the measures taken by the Government. At the same time, education is also given. Through the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan scheme, education is now being imparted to the masses, and now the human resources of the country are slowly converted into assets. The literacy rate is going up. Sir, these are all measures that will help in eradicating the Naxalite violence. But, at the same time, Sir, the police forces and the paramilitary forces are now empowered, under the law, to take stringent measures, and the Government will also support them, for preventing these activities. Sir, the Government should be cautious about one aspect. There is a criticism — I don't want to specify any place—being made all over the country that there are several encounter deaths taking place. Sir, in these encounter deaths, the police shoot out various suspects. This further angers some of these groups. Sir, false cases are foisted on them. In some cases, they dont' stand in court. We have been, Sir, in cases relating to the forest brigand Veerappan that about 125 or 130 persons were prosecuted for terrorism charges. I happened to go and see them in the prison. I went to the special courts, the designated courts, in Bangalore. Many of them were women and elderly people. They were all acquitted Except four or five, all of them were acquitted. There were several cases filed against them. They were forced to face the trial. At that time, they informed that there were indiscriminate killings in shoot-outs by the police. This has also to be looked into by the Government. The encounter killings should not be carried out indiscriminately. An inquiry into the encounter killings should not be an eye-wash inquiry because that will only incite the people further and complicate the problem further. This Naxalite problem is now becoming a transnational problem. It has become an international problem. Our neighbouring country is also facing this problem. It is spreading from the neighbouring country as well as from the groups here to other places. (*Time-bell*). So, the international police force should be activated. How much more time do I have, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) : Two minutes.

SHRI R. SHUNMUGASUNDARAM: Thank you. Sir, there are unemployed people on the road-side. In the heart of those unemployed people, who are on the road-side, dangerous ideas crop up. That is the danger of the society. That is what our leader said. It is very relevant to the topic which we are discussing now. I congratulate Mr. Gnanadesikan and support the Resolution also. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

श्री गांधी आज़ाद (उत्तर प्रदेश): महोदय, मैं सबसे पहले श्री बी॰ एस॰ ज्ञानादिशिखन जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूं, जिन्होंने यह महत्वपूर्ण संकल्प उपस्थित करने का काम किया है। चूँकि आज नक्सलवाद देश की एक अहम समस्या बन गयी है, मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से अपने देश में पैदा हुए गौतम बुद्ध को उद्धृत करना चाहता हूं। गौतम बुद्ध ने कभी कहा था कि 'दुनिया में दुख है, दुख का कारण है, अगर कारण का निवारण कर दिया जाए तो दुनिया से दुख दूर हो सकता है,'। नक्सलवाद आज इस देश की बहुत बड़ी समस्या है, लेकिन नक्सलवाद पैदा होने का भी कारण है और मेरी राय में नक्सलवाद के पैदा होने या प्रभावी होने के मुख्य कारण अशिक्षा, गरीबी, सामंतवाद, जातिवाद और पुलिस-उत्पीड़न हैं।

महोदय, अशिक्षित व्यक्ति जागरूक न होने के कारण शोषण का शिकार होता है। उसका शारीरिक रूप से, मानसिक रूप से और सामाजिक रूप से, हर स्तर पर, पग-पग पर शोषण होता है या किया जाता है, जिसके कारण वह व्यक्ति बाध्य होकर अपने शोषण से मुक्ति पाने के लिए या उसका बचाव ढूंढने के लिए, इसका उपाय नक्सलवाद समझ कर, मजबूर होकर नक्सलवादियों का साथ देता है।

महोदय, गरीबी भी इसका दूसरा मुख्य कारण है गरीबी इंसान के लिए बहुत बड़ा अभिशाप है। इस गरीबी से छुटकारा पाने के लिए गरीब हर तरह से प्रयत्न करता है, किंतु उसे गरीबी के मकड़-जाल से छुटकारा नहीं मिल पाता है। वह अपने श्रम को बिना किसी मोल-भाव के बेचने के लिए तैयार होता है, लेकिन इतना मजबूर होने के बाद भी उसको गरीबी से निजात नहीं मिलती। महोदय, इतना ही नहीं, गरीबी से छुटकारा पाने के लिए वह बीवी-बच्चों सहित लगभग 8 घंटे से 12 घंटे तक काम भी करता है, लेकिन उसके उपरांत जब उसे दो वक्त की पेटभर रोटी भी नसीब नहीं होती है तो मजबूर होकर नक्सलवाद का सहारा लेता है क्योंकि कहा गया है कि, ''बुभोक्षित किम न करोति पापम्।'' मरता क्या न करता, के सिद्धांत पर चलकर, ऐसे गरीब लोग नक्सलवाद की शरण लेते हैं।

महोदय, इस देश में नक्सलवाद पैदा करने में सामंतवाद ने भी एक अहम भूमिका अदा की है। हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है, लेकिन इस देश में 20 से 25 प्रतिशत भूमिहीन लोग पूरे परिवार सहित खेतों में काम करते हैं। वे इन सामंतों की जमीनों पर दिन-रात काम करते हैं। यहां तक कि इनके पूरे परिवार को दिन-रात काम करने के बाद भी नीली छतरी के अलावा कोई आश्रय नहीं होता है। ये सामंती लोग कभी-कभी उनकी इज्जत के साथ भी खिलवाड़ करते हैं। इसीलिए वे मजबूर होकर, अपने स्वाभिमान व सम्मान को बचाने के लिए, उग्रवाद या नक्सलवाद का सहारा लेते हैं।

महोदय, हम जिस देश में पैदा हुए हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो॰ पी॰ जे॰ कुरियन): कृपया समाप्त करें।

श्री गांधी आज़ाद : मान्यवर, दो मिनट में पूरा कर रहा हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो॰ पी॰ जे॰ कुरियन): नहीं, एक मिनट में कीजिए।

श्री गांधी आज़ाद: मान्यवर, इस देश की व्यवस्था के चंद पोषक लोगों ने यहां हजारों नहीं, छः हजार से ज्यादा जातियां पैदा कर देश में जातिवाद व नफरत के बीज बोने का काम किया है। इस कारण से लोगों में भाईचारा समाप्त हो गया है। इस जातिवाद के शिकार, अपमानित लोग अपनी इज्जत व मर्यादा को बचाने के लिए ही उग्रवाद का सहारा लेते हैं।

महोदय, कई बार सामंतवादियों के शिकार व ऐसे व्यक्ति जिनका उत्पीड़न होता है, जब वे पुलिस की शरण में जाते हैं तो वहां भी उनको न्याय नहीं बल्कि गाली मिलती है, डंडा मिलता है और अपमान मिलता है। अब वह इस सब अपमान को बर्दाश्त नहीं करता। इसलिए वह आतंककारियों की शरण में जाता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो॰ पी॰ जे॰ कुरियन): कृपया समाप्त करें। आपकी पार्टी के लिए 3 मिनट का समय था, लेकिन 6 मिनट हो गए हैं।

श्री गांधी आज़ाद : महोदय, मैं सरकार से केवल इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि अगर इन समस्याओं का समाधान कर दिया जाए और नक्सलवाद को जड़ से खत्म करने के लिए जो मैंने उक्त कारण बताएं हैं, अगर उनको समाप्त कर दिया जाए, तो मेरा मानना है कि इस देश से नक्सलवाद जड़ से समाप्त हो जाए।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): You have ten minutes' time.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): I was told that I would be given 15-20 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): You take ten minutes. The Home Minister has to reply after that, and we have to finish it by 4 o' clock.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, I would like to co-operate with you; I would rather not speak at all and allow the Home Minister to speak, because when I am speaking, all of us seem to have a common perspective instead of different perspectives on this issue. Let me tell you, how we look into the problem is important. I totally agree with the sentiments expressed by my friends. All of us are against violence. Not to be mistaken, let me start my sentence, with all emphasis and coming from the core of my heart, that I am a pacifist; I am against violence. I believe that violence has no place in democracy, But what is the 'democracy' and what is the society which you are talking about? And what kind of a violence are you trying to talk? If I go to a village for voting, a landlord or a feudal lord can stop me, looking high at me and raising his eye-brow, that is not violence to you! If somebody uses his *lathi* and sends me and my family out of my village, and cast all the votes by himself, that is not violence for you. If I have to criticise the BJP for something wrong, I have to take up some kind of an issue so that I browbeat them, or they take up some kind of an issue through which they can browbeat me, that is not a political rivalry. But if a particular person, takes the real situation of the society today, — after sixty years, the kind of reality that we have — where 36 families hold the entire wealth of the nation, and 72-75 per cent of people live with Rs. 20 a day, then, you will know what and why of violence. Only this morning, you were trying to talk about a postman getting Rs. 1800 a month with four people to support, which means he gets less than Rs. 14 per day. If that is the kind of condition, and you would like to say, and everybody says, "मरता क्या नहीं करता," that means you are supporting it. Everybody says, what would happen? If the situation is this, why don't we go away and rebel? That means all of you know that the condition is bad, there is no alternative but to get into some kind of a violent activity. It is only violence that has been creating this situation. I am not trying to support Maoism or the thousand flowers that may blossom, nor am I trying to support the "swarm attack" way back at Jehanabad. We have had many swarm attacks after Jehanabad; 550 to be very precise, and all with success. Only last month, we had it in Orissa, from where 1600 arms were taken away. So, what I am trying to tell you is that this issue needs a very serious attention and consideration. It is not that the Home Ministry is not looking into it. I know that the Home Minister is doing that. The other day, when he was speaking, I was so much impressed. But is he solving it? Shri Gnanadesikan was quoting all the papers. The heading is, "Naxalism feeds on genuine issues—It calls for policy not police." Quoting this, he wants the police to take the centre-stage. Then, he wanted to quote Mohan Guruswamy to say that there are several paradoxes to be dealt with, but the most important one is how to

provide good governance in the worst of law and order situation. A better civil administration structure must come up in place of the one that I am talking by violence and populist sanction. They are saying the same thing, asking for the help of the police. I am not saying that police should not come in. I would only like to tell you, for a minute, the success story of Andhra Pradesh. How did we do it? Sir, Andhra suffered it for the last 40 years. But it is only the last four years that we do not have that kind of a thing. I am not saying that Naxalism has been totally rooted out. Why do we treat Naxalism as a menace? At the same time, say: मरता क्या नहीं करता? But it is a menace to you. I have not been able to understand the jargon in this. First of all, let us understand rural activism. Having seen the tribal areas, this came as a crop-sharing issue in Naxalbari. I am not going into the history at all. I am saying about the success story of Andhra Pradesh. When we called them for discussions, eye-brows were raised here in the Home Ministry at the Centre. They thought, how the Naxalities, who do not believe in elections, electoral politics, who do not believe in elected Governments, would come for talks. We need to have persuasive methods. When I was talking to Nirmala Behan, when I was trying to take out what was known as Shanti Yatra, when our talks, I went directly into their dens, as you call it, which I call their centres. I went to their centres in 16 districts. There was no violence there. The next day, they came to the table to have discussions with us. What was the conditionality when we invited them to talks? I am just making a reference. The earlier Government had said, "You give up your arms and then come for talks". They had refused. We said, "Whatever you want to talk, please come; even the giving up of arms can be discussed". We put it in the agenda. Believe me, they just came dropping their guns and entered the hall. For six months thereafter, we had a lull. We could have continued further but for very wrong happenings over which we really brooded over the things and found out what exactly we needed to do. That is a very specific issue. But I am not going back into why it has all come. The more perlexing paradox of today is that every one of us here believe that Naxalism is some kind of a socio-economic problem. Every gentleman who spoke here said this. Yet, after speaking of that, first they talked about the modernisation of police, about the battalions being sent to the States, the States being empowered, the money flowing into the States to fortify the police stations and so on. All this is all right. To cut the story short, let me tell you, we should have a three-pronged approach which the hon. Home Minister mentioned the other day. We need to be stern. We need to handle it very sternly. But, understand the sensitivity of the issue, the sensitivity of the milieu in which people live, the poor man lives, with practically nothing at all and with the vulgarity of the wealth that you have in your hands, with your TVs and other things shown to us through your showcases. This is how we have to do it. Number one is, never talk about the police forces; never talk about how many battalions you are sending, what kind of modernisation of the police you are doing, what kind of new materials you are giving, what kind of technology you are putting in the police stations and so on. Do it; it is your job to do it. Nobody is stopping you from doing it. But you need not put all the bravado to that. What is needed to be done? You talk about remote area's development, about the panchayati raj. Although the panchayati raj started and has failed there. Where is the Gram Sabha today? You all talk about the Gram Sabha! The feudal raj and the big man who has always being dictating to us can still go and get all the things done. Can anybody dare get up and stand against him and say 'no' to him? Things are changing. I am not being cynical at all, Sir. Things are changing. Till then, we need to adjust ourselves and blend ourselves with the changing milieu. Then, what is to be done? Sir, panchayati raj is one revolutionary step that we have taken in this country since we have had our independence where you try to take the spirit of democracy, if not democracy, the sense of humanism, if not humanity, to the people. Tell them, here is

your power, if you want to use it. What is it that we have done to strengthen those sinews? Nothing. So, what I am saying is, talk about what you could do, say, for the development of that remote area. Now, what we have done is we have recruited Home Guards in Andhra Pradesh. Three lakh Home Guards in tribal areas! Firstly, this has provided a sort of employment to people. Then, within two years, we have distributed 4.5 lakh acres of land. That is because wherever these Naxals go, they talk about land as the major issue. Sir, let me tell you, when the Naxalites had come for talks and they were talking about land, I had just turned back to one of them and asked, in the presence of all, "What is your age? When you were not born, when Maoism was not born, or, even the Maoist Party was not born, way back in 1942, Mahatma Gandhi was asked by Fishcher as to what should the agenda for the new, independent India be and he had said, "Land to the tiller". So, it has been an article of faith with this country, with this nation, let alone the Congress Party. The Father of the Nation had said it. That is why I was hurt when Mr. Gnanadesikan was saying why we shouldn't have an FBI style of operations or a CBI style of functioning or an Interpol type of functioning. Why not a Budha style of approach? When King Ashoka decided, everybody followed him on the path of non-violence. Why not, say, Acharya Vinboa Bhave style of functioning? Why don't you say Mahatma Gandhi's style of functioning? Why don't you say Jai Prakash Narain's style of functioning? This is how you must win them over. So, my three-pronged approach, on which I am trying to stress is this. I am not going into the history of Naxalism, but, if I go into the history, then, all of us will be hanging our heads in shame. We talk a lot about 'Shining India' and 'Incredible India'. It is not the whole thing. To find 'Incredible India', go back to your villages where you cannot even walk the place. There are still three to four per cent of the tribal villages in the country where, perhaps, you will never be able to reach for another ten years to come, because no roads are coming up there. You have to travel something like 14 kilometres to reach a hamlet. Sir, what I am saying about the three-pronged attack is this. It is precisely this. Think of the development first; get into it as your first duty. Number two, think of peace talks, political dialogue. Try to understand them. They are also talking like you. The only thing is, you are in power, so you are able to implement your views. They are not in power, so, they don't implement anything. Then, try to win over the people. So, start a dialogue. At the same time, be alert; enforce law and order. There is the Home Ministry. Do your own job. I would not even stress on that point. I would only underline it; underpin it. Do your job. When these three are coordinated, they will become a package. I think we will do that. Sir, my last sentence is, we have been talking about this issue for the last 40 years without any results. I don't know much about *Vedas*. I am an agnostic. Sir, 8000 years back, perhaps, we said, 'Oh God, give us the strength to get rid of the evil'. That means, there was evil even 8000 years back. And we still have to repeat that ritually without avail. That is why, we just repeat, just quote it. Sir, whether it is Shankar Jha or Mr. Mohan Guruswamy; it would not help us just reading their articles. What is necessary is hard work to woo the people. I have been a rural activist. I lived in those conditions. I have gone through these movements. So what I am saying is, ever since the Congress Government has come to power, it has really started understanding the issue and helping the situation. The Panchayati Raj...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Yes, you have made your point.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Of all, a great man who could bring democracy to the State was Rajivji when he talked of bringing together as many people as possible to self-rule under the three-tier system — Although the middle tier had no power or was not doing anything. Not that did it not have any power. It only gave some sense of involvement and participatory

element. Bring those stakeholders, the people to the centre stage. (*Time-bell*) He has referred to Mittal. Mittal has proposed a giant Steel Plant, and he is trying to bring it to Orissa State. You have tried to say that he will provide one lakh employment there. He will bring one lakh employment but by removing how many people? How many people will be dislocated in this process? All right, 'x' number. You say, Rs. 70,000 crores per annum will be his profit. Can you give half a per cent of it, or, one per cent of it to the tribals whom you have dislocated? Then, every issue can be solved. ...(*Interruptions*)... That is why I am referring to you. that should be your first approach. Your priority should be the stakeholders. Till then you cannot talk about all this development. Don't talk of Mittal, etc. First you talk about these poor people ...(*Interruptions*)... Let money be given to them first; let the land be given to them. ...(*Interruptions*)... Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI EKANATH K. THAKUR (Maharashtra): Sir, thank you very much. This is my last opportunity, though it is of two minutes. But I thank you. Sir, everyone has pointed out the economic realities which constitute the very root of our problems, like naxalism and terrorism. Dr. Arjun Kumar Sengupta Committee has brought about in its Report start realities in India. Prior to 1990-91, our media used to speak of India and *Hindustan;* today nobody talk about that *Hindustan.* Everybody has forgotten it. Everybody is riding on a wave of India, and everybody is claiming that India is a super-power. But the fact remains that 73 per cent of our people, about 82 crore people, are drawing less than 20 rupees a day, and if you take the definition of the World Bank — 40 rupees a day — there are about 92 crore people who are below the poverty line. We have not addressed that. Economic disparities are increasing and the filthy rich are making a big show of their wealth saying that richest people are in India, while the poor are dying of hunger.

Sir, I will touch only a few aspects. Even after the package of loan waiver, in my State, Maharashtra, farmers are committing suicides. This is the reality of India. Therefore, I would say that we have not even touched the surface of the problem even today. As I leave this House, I keep on wondering, I do not have the answer, whether we are different from a banana republic. All the shops are occupied by 25 big business families and 25 ruling families in this country. Only 50 families are ruling our 1070 million people of India and we all are working at their behest. That is our India, and I do not know just because it is big democracy, how it is different than a banana republic.

Sir, the hon. Home Minister was at pains, during the answer to a question during Question Hour, to point out how this problem is exaggerated, how the number of districts are less, how in these districts police stations affected are less, and how the population that is a casualty and all that he pointed out. We thank him for the information he has given. But, after 60 years, we should be ashamed that this problem exists and it is getting accentuated day after day. Therefore, Sir, to the hon. Home Minister, whose intentions I do not dispute and whom I respect, I would only say one thing. Naxalism cannot be treated by police stations. Naxalism cannot be treated by arming our policemen. Naxalism cannot be treated by giving developmental aid. I believe that as a nation and Parliament of India, we must make a resolve that we will not turn it a soft State and we will run it a State where the earlier India's Home Minister, Vallabhbhai Patel, would have come down heavily on, one, corruption. Corruption has taken deep roots in this country. Two, he would have seen to it that all theft at public properties, all theft in electricity boards—you all know what is happening, people sign contracts of 20 per cent with ONGC, and by bribing the people, are stealing away the petroleum products. The whole nation raised that issue. How can you stop naxalism when

theft has taken place at the ONGC centres by industralists, by partnering with the Government of India?

Sir, I will take only one minute and finish. Then, Sir, there are leakages. The hon. Finance Minister pointed out that there were 30 per cent of leakages in the PDS. We are only talking about it here. Why cannot we come down heavily on the leakages? Why cannot we see that our delivery system is improved? And, this debate is going on for sixty years! That debate does not take us anywhere.

Finally, Sir, we are a country of Mahatma Gandhi. We are a country of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We are a country of Jaiprakash Narayan. We are a country of Deen Dayal Upadhyay. We are also a country of the present day's great leaders. Therefore, Sir, we must stop all ostentations in public life, all dirty show of wealth in public life. Sir, this ugly show of wealth in all centres—you go to five-star hotels, go to marriages, what is happening? What our leaders are doing? The wasteful expenditure in public life all has to come down. Unless we, the Parliamentarians, set an example, the people who are suffering, who are below the poverty-line, can never see another day. Sir, we are only paying lip service. If we have to do anything, we have to come down heavily on show of wealth, we have to come down heavily on leakages, we have to come down heavily on ostentation, we have to come down heavily on thefts at the electricity boards and other places, and we have to stop all ugly show of filthy wealth that is happening in this country today and that is mortifying the poorer people. I thank you for giving me time.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Member who moved this resolution in this House and gave us an opportunity to discuss this issue which is attracting our attention in the Parliament, outside the Parliament, in the media and at other different levels.

The presentation given by him explains many points and it is not necessary for me to cover all the points he has covered in his statement because that would be a sort of repetition. There are three kinds of approaches, which are projected in this House on this issue. One approach is, use the police, use the force, and control Naxal activities. If you do not do it, you are soft, so, use the bullet and the barrel, and then have tooth for tooth, and eye for eye. This principle, one of the hon. Members said, would solve the problem. This is one approach. Now the second approach, which is projected here, is that this issues is not only an issue which can be solved by using the force. Very rightly one of the hon. Members said "दुख है तो उसका कारण भी है। अगर उस कारण तक आप पहुंचें तो उसका निवारण हो सकता है।" Very rightly he said that and he quoted Lord Budha's philosophy on this point. Very rightly, Sir, Mr. Keshava Rao was also following that line. He was saying you are all suggesting that use the force and control the situation but you are not going to the root cause as to why this situation has developed. He was emphasising that look what is important is the cause, go to the root cause, try to solve that problem which is faced by the person who takes to the arms and who accepts terrorism, bloodshed and things like that. That was his line. And the third line which was taken by the Mover of this Resolution is that both these things have to be kept in mind by the Government while dealing with this problem. It is necessary. Of course, the first point he made was that force has to be used and the second point on which he dilated for a long time was that economic development is necessary, social justice is necessary. Unequal development in different parts of the country is also causing the difficulty. Non-availability of infrastructure is also causing the difficulty, non-availability of educational institution, hospitals is also causing the difficulty. And that is why we should take steps to develop roads, schools and hospitals, distribute land, help the poor people, give them employment

and then the cause of this Naxal activities would slowly disappear. This is what he was trying to say, if I am not wrong. And then he said, at the same time, this issue has to be tackled. By whom? He was quoting the Constitution, and I would like to read the Constitution because this point is made every now and then on the floor of the House. I am reading the Constitution. I have not read this Constitution before supporting the argument. I have just referred to the Constitution in my speeches, in my replies many times, but now I would like to read only one line from the Seventh Schedule and the State List and Entry No. one and two, it will not take more than one minute.

Now, Sir, what does Entry Number 1 of the Seventh Schedule of the State List as it is called, says? It says, "Public order, (but not including the use of any naval, military or air force of the Union or any other force subject to the control of the Union or of any contingent or unit thereof in aid of the civil power." Now, the public order is totally under the jurisdiction of the State. The State will not be able to use the Military, Air Force or the Navy. That has to be run by the Union and it is given in the First List and that is also the First Entry in the First List. Whereas in the Second List, *i.e.* the State List, the First Entry is the public order and the Second Entry is the Police. Now, police and public order are under the jurisdiction of the State Government. Unfortunately, this is not clearly understood by many of us. That is why whenever we discuss this issue we discuss the incidents and then say, 'why have you not done this? 'why is this not being done?' and, then, we stop it there. We are not going into the root cause. If we are going to say that there is weakness in dealing with it, why is that weakness there? We are not going to that. But, we are just referring to the incidents and then leaving it and then, we are sitting down. That is not going to help. I think, this has to be kept in mind and that is why the mover of the Resolution said that let us amend the Constitution. He suggested that article 355 and article 356 should be amended. Now, this suggestion has been made many times by many hon. Members and in many other fora also. But, is it going to be acceptable to the country as a whole, to the Union Government and the State Governments, to the Members of the all Parties? If it is going to be acceptable, well, this can be considered and let there be an amendment in the House and let it be done. As far as the Government of India is concerned, we do find that there are occasions when Government of India feels very helpless because Government of India watches something happening and yet Government of India is not in a position to send the forces available with it, to control that situation and to overcome that situation. Yet, we are not saying "let us amend this Constitution." What we are saying is that in certain circumstances, if it is necessary and if it is agreed to by all the parties, it should be done. We have said that we will not do it unless and until there is a consensus on this point. But the mover of this Resolution says that let us amend the Constitution. Now, this is a suggestion which is before us, it has been considered, let it again be considered here and outside in any forum and if consensus develops, if agreement develops, well, the Parliament is sovereign to make the change in the Constitution also, in this article also and we can do it. Sir, one of the most important things which has been projected and very rightly also, and, I would say that Dr. Keshava Rao was hinting at it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): How much more time do you need? We would like to finish it, if possible by four O' clock.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: If we discuss it and if I don't reply...

4.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): you please continue but be brief.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: The reply can be over next time. What is there?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, this will be very unfair because one side is projected and the other side is not projected and we will consider it after 20 days.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Okay, you continue.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Sir, they have to leave for their flights.

DR. V. MAITREYAN (Tamil Nadu): Many of us will have to leave for our places. Flights will be delayed. Please consider that also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please continue for another 15 minutes.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI JASWANT SINGH): Sir, can I say something?...*(Interruptions)*... You cannot ask both of us to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Is he going to make a statement?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no. He is not making any statement ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, I don't make any statement. I can only make a request. Statement is the prerogative of the Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I think, you want to give some suggestion.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, in the morning also this was changed. The custom is, farewell is bid to retiring Members soon after the Question Hour. That is what had been decided and a circular was issued to all. Arbitrarily, it had been changed at the last minute and shifted to 4 o'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): What is your suggestion?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I can only give a suggestion if you hear what I have to say and if you have already made up your mind, I have nothing to say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no; not at all. It is up to the House.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: That time was changed and we were told that the farewell would at 4 o'clock.

Sir, hon. Members have to go back. They have to participate in a festival. There are flights that they have to catch. A lot of them have changed their programme so as to meet the convenience of the Treasury Benches. Now, the hon. Home Minister says, 'No. It is not convenient for me.' And, you also say, 'You finish your reply.' So, what should be do?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no. In that case, there are two ways. First, it was suggested from this side that 15 minutes may be given and the discussion on the Resolution has to be completed. If the House wants that it needs to be postponed for the next half of the current Session, it is up to the House. I have no problem. The Home Minister in that case can continue reply afterwards.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I would like to say and I have been saying this. When I was consulted I had told him that if you discuss this issue in this manner and if this debate goes unreplied then only one side of the picture comes before the people and then there is a ground for misunderstanding. That is why I said, if possible,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): So, let us contine this for fifteen minutes.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: सर, ऐसा है कि रिसेस हो रही है, हाउस sine die adjourn नहीं हो रहा है इसलिए रिजोल्यूशन कंटीन्यु करेगा। चूंकि रिजोल्युशन कंटीन्यु करेगा, इसलिए बैटर यह है कि इसको अभी अन-कनक्लूडिड रख दें, मिनिस्टर साहब रिसेस के बाद जब 15 अप्रैल को हाउस मिलेगा, तब इसी से शुरू करें। ...(व्यवधान)...

DR. V. MAITREYAN: Sir, let the farewell be over. After that, the reply may be continued.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, if I am not able to complete my reply within 15 minutes, you can take it to the next half of this Budget Session.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Okay. You can continue for 15 minutes.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, the point which Mr. Keshava Rao made was that you should bring about economic development, you should distribute land, you should build infrastructure and you should have roads, schools and hospitals built. What is it that we are doing? And, a question was asked that in what fashion the Government of India is helping the State Governments. May I tell you, Sir? I was trying to calculate the amount of money which is given by the Government of India to State Governments for this purpose. First, I will take this issue. What is the amount that we are giving under the backward districts initiative to the Naxal-affected States in five years time? It is Rs. 4,860 crores. Now, Sir, what is the amount of money that we are giving under the Backward Region Grant Fund? We are giving Rs. 10,000 crores in five years. That means, for each year, we are giving Rs. 2,000 crores. Now, I come to the Employment Guarantee Scheme. What is Employment Guarantee Scheme? The Employment Guarantee Scheme is a Scheme which provides employment to people living in those areas where employment is easily not available.

What is the amount of money given, Sir? The amount of money given to these States is nearly Rs. 10,000 crores every year, and in five years time, Rs. 50,000 crores are going to be given. In the *Pradhan Mantri Sarak Yojana,* what is the amount of money given? The amount of money given in five years is Rs. 11,000 crores. This is over and above what is being given for constructing irrigation dams, power stations, constructing roads, for agricultural development and for educational purposes. For all these things also, money is given separately. So, this is the amount of money given. And, what is the total amount of money given for this purpose in these areas? It is Rs. 76,720 crores. Rs. 76,720 crores are given to these States in order to bring about development for the people who are living in these areas. If somebody is coming to a conclusion that we are neglecting the economic development and we are not bringing about the development in a manner that the States come on par with each other, probably, he is not applying his mind to these aspects. This is over and above what is given to all other States. Now, what is the amount of money given by the Government of India to the State Governments for strengthening their police forces. For modernisation of police forces, what is the amount of money given? It is Rs. 4,450 crores. What is the amount of money given for security-related expenditure? The amount of money given for this is Rs. 12,000 crores. This is the amount of money which is being given to the States. Then, how many battalions are given to the naxal affected States? Naxal affected States are given 33 battalions. Thirty-three battalions means, 33,000 men and officers are given to the

naxal-affected States. About 13 battalions are given only to Chhattisgarh. That means, 13,000 men and officers are given. We are being asked what kind of help we are giving. We are giving them 500 armoured vehicles to be used in the forest areas and also to be used against the naxalites. We have given them helicopters to be used, not for attacking but for evacuating the injured policemen, SPOs and others also. This is the kind of help which is given to them. And, what is, actually, happening? I will just quote the figures of the funds which are given by the States to themselves. It is Maharashtra which has increased the allocation for the Police substantially. It is Chhattisgarh also which has increased the allocation for the Police forces. Jharkhand has also increased the allocation for the Police. All other States have kept the allocation for the Police as it was five years before. The things have changed in five years time. Population has gone up. Things are becoming more difficult, but the allocation for the Police in most of the States is not enhanced. That is what we are not doing here. We have increased our allocation at the national level and that amount of money is given to the para-military forces. So, this is the situation, Sir. In this case, Sir, they are asking whether the situation is very grim or not. I do say that the situation is very grim. The Prime Minister has said that the situation is grim and we have to pay attention. I fully agree with him, but exaggeration should not be done. Somebody has written an article saying that 600 people have died. Isn't this a grim situation? I am quoting how many people have been murdered? About 32,000 people have been murdered.

Sir, 32,000 people in India have been murdered. ...*(Interruptions)*... killed and murdered. I am saying this matter is also serious. I am one with everybody who says that we shall have to pay more attention and we shall have to do something more than what we are doing. I do not disagree with that. Economically, socially, politically, force-wise, by using the force, we have to deal with this issue. But let us not do it in such a manner, which will create fear-psychosis in the country. If fear-psychosis is created, we would be helping those who are in the business of creating terror and who are called the terrorists because they themselves are in the process of creating the terror, and, if you exaggerate beyond a certain limit, you are also creating the terror. That has to be avoided. Not that we should minimise the importance of the problem, not that we should say that this problem is easy to handle. It is a difficult problem. It has to be dealt with in a proper manner. It has to be dealt with by the State Government as well as the Union Government. We are not shirking from our responsibility; but the main responsibility, as far as the Constitution of India is concerned, is with the State Government. Anything happening there, you come and ask us, "why has it happened." If something happens in Orissa, you ask me to explain it. If something has happened in Maharashtra, you ask me to explain it. I will explain it. If something has happened in Chhattisgarh, I shall have to explain it. I will explain it. But if you say that you and you alone are responsible for this, then we are not trying to deal with the problem, we are trying to handle the problem in a political manner. If you criticise the political party or if you criticise the individuals, you are dealing with this problem in a political manner. If you are really dealing with the issue as such, then you shall have to go to the main causes of it and we have to see what can be done. If you want really to deal with this problem, let us provide more funds for policing. If you want to deal with the problem, let us expand the police forces. If you want to deal with this problem, modernise the police forces. If you want to deal with this problem, use new technologies with the forces. If you want to deal with the problem, obtain the assistance of the people in the society for this purpose. At the same time, you increase the funding in the backward areas where infrastructure can be developed, employment can be given, agriculture can be developed, irrigation can be developed, schooling can be better, medical facility can be better and that it will help.

Sir, I don't think that I would be able to cover all the points. Now, since you are hinting, I am concluding my speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You can conclude. Otherwise, you can conclude it next time.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, there is no point in doing that. There is no point in doing that after fifteen days' time. There is no point. I have made all the points which I wanted to make. I don't have to say anything more than this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, Shri Gnanadesikan. Now, Mr. Gnanadesikan, what I would suggest to you is that if you what to speak, then we can continue with this Resolution next time.

SHRI B. GNANADESIKAN: Sir, only two minutes, please.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Then, you can speak next time.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I will make a formal request to him to withdraw it. All the points which he has made are relevant. They are under our consideration. We have already taken decisions on those things ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That's enough. So, Mr. Gnanadesikan, are you withdrawing the Resolution?

SHRI B.S. GNANADESIKAN: Yes; Sir, I am withdrawing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Ok, Does he have the permission of the House to withdraw the Resolution?

The Resolution was by leave withdrawn.

[MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

FELICITATIONS TO THE RETIRING MEMBERS

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members todays we bid farewell to some of our colleagues who are retiring this year on completion of their term of office. In the constitutional scheme of thiflgs, as you know, one-third of our Members retire every second year. This ensures continuity along with change in the composition of the House. Out of the 73 Members retiring this year, 57 Members will be completing their term of office in the months of April and May.

Some of the retiring Members, I am sure, would be re-elected. Those who will not come back will certainly be missed by the House. The membership of the Rajya Sabha is in itself a great honour. Many of the retiring Members are public figures of standing, are well-versed in debating skills and in the art of criticising political opponents without offending them. Dignified debate is essential to democracy and is the finest form of communication. I place on record my heartfeit appreciation of the valuable contribution that the retiring Members have made to the deliberations of the House and the service they have rendered to parliamentary democracy. On a personal note, I am grateful for the consideration they have shown towards me in conducting the business of the House. I am sure that the Members who are retiring would cherish the memory of their association with this august House. I wish them good health, happiness, success and long years of service to the nation.

Now, the hon. Leader of the Opposition.

नेता विरोधी दल (श्री जसवन्त सिंह): जनाब सदर साहब, वैसे भी जब हमारे मैम्बरान राज्य सभा से, यहां से रिटायर होकर जाते हैं, तो स्वाभाविक है कि मन कुछ खट्टा होता है। आज हमारे जो मैम्बरान जा रहे हैं, रिटायर हो रहे हैं, उनके